753 as a feather, escaped. She was so frightened, nevertheless, that she fled to the forest and forsook her activities, so that the epidemic ceased.[80]

755 782 One way of avoiding death or serious harm is to propitiate the spirits through vows.

It happens often that a sick person makes a vow (*zarikajet sie*), i.e. a promise, that if he regains his health, he will forego certain pleasures in life, or abstain from some pleasant task. A certain woman, for example, accidentally drove a needle into the palm of her hands, and when the physician, after chloroforming her, removed the needle, the convalescent pledged herself never again to sew embroidered shoulder-pieces on to a shirt of hers. This promise she kept religiously, sewing only on shirts belonging to others. Another woman, in order to rid herself of a headache, promised that she would not spin on Fridays; when relieved, she occupied herself every Friday with a different task in order to avoid spinning. A peasant in order to preserve his cattle during an epidemic that had broken out, solemnly vowed to give up drinking liquor for half a year, and when his cattle were saved he kept his word.[81]

755 Believing in the supernatural causation of disease, the people have little faith in scientific medical treatment, if they do not ignore it altogether. Poverty, though doubtless a factor, is far less important than the conviction, fully compatible with the prevailing conception of disease, that the native medicine-men and their remedies are more reliable than physicians and their medications. That the question of money is not decisive can be seen from the fact that quack doctors often receive larger fees than trained physicians. Even when given free treatment and medicine, an individual often puts aside the medicament and then boasts that he has gotten well because he has not used it.[82] While he places full confidence in his own remedies,

[113]

[80] Woycicki, K. W. *Polnische Volkssagen und Maerchen* (Berlin, 1839), pp. 23-4.

[81] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 160.

[82] Kaindl, R. F. *Die Huzulen* (Wien, 1894), p. 93.

20: Koenig E-4 (no date) 1937 RD1 Ukraine RD1



sanctioned by the tradition of generations, he looks upon all 755 ●
medicines prescribed by a physician with a certain suspicion.[83]

Popular remedies fall roughly into three categories: (1) amu- [751]
lets and other prophylactic and precautionary means, (2) incantations, and (3) concoctions, compounced of strange and varied elements from the animal, plant, and mineral worlds. Only in serious, persistent, or complicated cases, or in those ascribed to the direct influence of spirits, e.g. snake-bite, fright,[84] partial paralysis, and stomach disorders,[85] does the peasant consult a professional healer, man or woman: otherwise he uses the standard remedies passed on from generation to generation. Many of the treatments hereinafter to be described, therefore, are often undertaken without the help of a healer.[86]

The healer, who is called *znachor* (fem. *znachorka*) from *znaty* (to know), is not a wizard, nor is he in league with any of the forces of evil. His sole power and function is to combat or counteract ailments by performing conjurations and compounding remedies; he thus plays the role of physician. He is, to be sure, endowed with supernatural powers—he is even referred to as the "earthly god"—but he gets these from God himself.[87] As a matter of fact, the priest and his assistant, it is thought, can sometimes counteract the work of the Devil by ridding a person of his malady. Thus in some sections of the mountains the people commonly seek the aid of the sexton in case of illness. This official inserts a knife between the pages of the church prayer book as many times as are necessary to find the alleged "right place," charging the patient a certain fee for each insertion. He then reads from the book, as if they were written there, the causes and cure of the disease. This practice is said to be slowly becoming obsolete, but it is still not unusual for priests to undertake to cure people by special Masses and prayers and by consecration with holy water.[88]

[83] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 160. [84] *Ibid.*, pp. 167-69.

[85] Kolberg, O. *Przemyskie* (Kraków, 1891), p. 239. [86] *Idem.*

[87] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 161; Szuchiewicz, W. *Huculszczyzna* (Lwów, 1902-08, 4 vols.) iv, 297, 312. [113]

[88] Kaindl, R. F. "Aus der Volksueberlieferung der Bojken," *Globus*, lxxix, 152.

• 755 Although the *znachor*, especially one of reputation, can diagnose and treat any disease, he often specializes in particular ailments, e.g. fevers, paralysis, headaches, or snake-bite. He keeps his formulas and concoctions strictly secret, for a knowledge of them by others would impair if not invalidate his powers.[89] The formulas and recipes are much more numerous and varied than the ailments themselves; for curing fever, for instance, there are not less than seventy-seven remedies, corresponding to seventy-seven causes, i.e. spirits.[90] They range from the simplest prescriptions, e.g. to drink water drawn from a well before sunrise, to the most complicated compounds of herbs, animal and human exuviae and excrements, insects, dirt, etc., accompanied by elaborate verbal formulas and grotesque performances. While certain remedies are the private property of an individual healer and are only effective when performed or suggested by him, others are common knowledge and freely used by the people.

[754] The *znachor*, or *znachorka*, is also an expert in inducing love, causing barren women to conceive, foretelling future events, and even settling difficult family problems.[91] Healers of reputation, like expert weather-men, are comparatively few in number—very often only one in a considerable territory—and are widely sought after. People often travel many miles to consult a master healer, and pay large fees for his services.[92]

The *znachor* ascribes his power to his special endowment from God, and his knowledge of the medicinal properties of different ingredients to a secret source which he cannot divulge. Every healer has his own fast-day, when he communes with God.[93] He knows which wells have water containing therapeutic qualities and what herbs are good for particular diseases. He gathers the herbs at certain seasons of the year and at prescribed hours during the day, and keeps them in readiness at his home. It is noteworthy that this mysterious art of healing, being the pro-

[89] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 161.

[90] *Ibid.*, p. 170.

[113] [91] Kaindl, R. F. "Zauberglaube bei den Huzulen," *Globus*, lxxvi, 233.

[92] *Ibid.* p. 237; Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 161.

[93] Szuchiewicz, W. *op. cit.*, iv, 297.

7 [healer -- analyst]

20: Koenig E-4 (no date) 1937 RD1 Ukraine RD1



755

perty of an individual, can be stolen.[94] Usually, however, it is transmitted from father to son.[95]

That the people, at least those seeking his advice, consider the *znachor* as endowed with unusual powers is obvious. But how does he regard himself? Does he really believe in his art, or does he merely take advantage of the ignorance of the people? There is no doubt that many actually believe in their extraordinary powers and in the effectiveness of their remedies.[96] On the other hand, however, there are those who admit, when pressed hard, that they sometimes delude and even mislead their patients,[97] while others claim—only before intelligent people, of course—that their conjurations really consist largely of Christian prayers, which cannot, at the worst, do any harm to the patient.[98]

The excuse for an obvious failure is the usual one of the shaman, or, for that matter, of quacks all over the world, namely, that the patient did not follow the directions strictly. This the healer usually finds very easy, since he often requires impossible tasks of his patients. He claims, for example, that the recommended water was not drawn from the well in the specified hour or manner, or that the coals over which he pronounced his conjuration were not taken from a "living" fire.[99] In one case two Jewish girls, who had come from afar to a famous *znachor* for a love potion, were sent all the way back on foot to fetch new containers, since those they had brought with them had been used and the potion poured into them would thus have had no effect.[100]

In mild cases and in those of chronic or general ill health, the healer, as a rule, merely offers advice. He tells the patient that his affliction is caused perhaps by the fact that he has built his house on the head of a demon, or that he has unwittingly dug up the root of a lilac bush, or that he has started some task at

[94] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 161.

[95] Kaindl, R. F. "Neue Beitraege zur Ethnologie und Volkskunde der Huzulen," *Globus*, lxix, 74.

[96] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 217.

[97] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxix, p. 74.

[98] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 161.

[99] Szuchiewicz, W. *op. cit.*, iv, 313.

[100] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxix, 74.

[113]

20: Koenig E-4 (no date) 1937 RD1 Ukraine RD1



755 an ill-fated hour. His advice may be to move out of the house, destroy it, and build another on the opposite side of the road. After entreaties that this is a most difficult and costly procedure, the *znachor* usually concedes that the transfer of the patient's bed to the orchard, or even to the other side of the room, may suffice to relieve the trouble.[101] Another example of the type of advice offered for a persistent and undefined ailment is the following:

> Go before daybreak to a certain spot across the boundary of the third village, and there you will find a little well; draw some water from it, but before sunrise, take a drink and bathe your eyes, but see to it that no woman meets you, and you will become well in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.[102]

If the Devil, as sometimes happens, has his lodgings in a peasant's house or adjoining barn, some direct means of driving him out must be undertaken. The *znachor*, when called in, sprinkles the house with holy water, drives the cattle into the yard, and, with a whip in his hand, runs into the barn where the Devil is supposed to reside, since some of the cattle are sick. Lashing right and left with the whip at the walls and corners, while the people of the house assist him with sticks and brooms, he finally succeeds in expelling the evil spirit. He then sprinkles the barn with holy water and advises the people to stuff up every crack tightly, because the evil spirit may assume the form of an insect, a worm, or the like and re-enter the barn through the tiniest opening.[103]

For easily diagnosed ailments the medicine-man employs special incantations, usually in conjunction with a more concrete remedy. He need not even visit the sick room, provided he has part of the patient's clothing or a bit of his exuviae over which he can utter his formula.[104] In any case, it is absolutely necessary to have some object, often a stick, a rope, a knife, a coal, or a piece of wax, over which to perform his incantation. To relieve

[101] Kolberg, *Przemyskie*, p. 237; Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxxix, 152.

[102] Kolberg, *Przemyskie*, p. 237. [103] *Ibid.*, p. 239.

[104] *Ibid.*, p. 237.

20: Koenig E-4 (no date) 1937 RD1 Ukraine RD1



755

indigestion or an acute pain in the stomach, for example, the *znachor*

> takes a rope and continually mumbles something while making various knots in it. He then hangs the rope, like a bag, around the shoulders of the patient. The formula itself is a secret; we have been told, however, that it is supposed to consist of the enumeration or rehearsing of all the tasks performed in connection with flax from the moment when its seeds are threshed out to the moment when the fabric is completed.[105]

Before undertaking to treat paralysis with herbs, the *znachor* takes a knife, grasps it by the cutting edge, makes the sign of the cross three times over the patient, and utters the following incantation:

> In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, oh, painful pain, malicious and cunning enemy, leave, depart from the born and baptized servant of God. Betake yourself to the crossways, to the swamps, where God's creatures do not go, where squirrels do not peer in, where geese do not hiss, and cocks do not crow. There you shall fly around, there you shall sit, there you shall return, there you shall have something to do in this world.[106]

The people themselves, of course, also employ incantations, and nearly every household has at least one member who knows how to conjure away the common ailments.

753

Foremost among the ills susceptible to cure by means of incantations is the "evil eye" (*wroki*). So widespread and so generally feared is this form of bewitching that the people seem almost constantly to be taking one precaution or another against it. This vigilance becomes understandable when one realizes that any person may cause harm to another, often quite unwittingly, merely by looking at him or talking about him. Especially is this true of a person who has some uncanny quality about his eyes. Since one may possess and exert the evil eye all unknowingly, it is common, in observing or mentioning a person admiringly, to guard against injuring him by adding the phrase: "*n*

[105] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 168. [106] Kolberg, *Przemyskie*, pp. 339-40.

753 *wroku* ! " (no evil eye !). Failure to take this precaution may result in harm, even though there is not the slightest intention of so doing.[107]

An individual affected by the " evil eye " first loses suddenly his good humour and complacency, and then becomes sick. The result may even be fatal, particularly if he falls asleep before ridding himself of the evil wrought upon him.[108] All successful, good looking, or otherwise fortunately endowed persons or animals are susceptible to the evil eye. Children, in particular, fall
755 an easy prey, for they have no power to resist. To render her child immune from the effects of a harmful glance which may possibly have been cast upon it during the day, a mother never fails to exorcise the evil before putting her child to sleep. This she does by sucking it out of the forehead of the child and spitting it out into the four corners of the room, signifying the four cardinal directions, so that the evil glance, from whatever direction it may have come, shall disappear whence it came. As she does so, she says : " *Chto ti wrik, naj ti wzme* ! " (Whoever sent you take you back !) A similar precaution is followed many times during the day, if the child feels indisposed.[109]

Adults are cured of the evil eye by a multitude of elaborate methods, including that of " extinguishing coals," already mentioned, and others too numerous to specify. The cure is usually undertaken by an otherwise ordinary person, even a member of the family, who is acquainted with a formula effective against the evil eye. Like the weather-man and healer, such an individual never reveals the secret of his art, for if he did, his charms would lose their effect and he himself might even suffer harm.[110]

751 Persons repeatedly subject to the effects of the evil eye are advised to carry constantly with them a piece of laudanum over which a soothsayer has uttered a special conjuration. Other protective devices, also useful for warding off other evil influences, include the *klokiczka*, a piece of wood consecrated together with Easter bread and carried on a string around the neck, a little mercury inserted in a wooden cross, brass rings and crosses, strings of hair or gut, old coins, certain dried herbs, and other

[107] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 132. [108] *Idem.*

[109] *Idem.* [110] *Ibid.*, p. 133.

20: Koenig E-4 (no date) 1937 RD1 Ukraine RD1



amulets.[111] If a person takes the precaution of muttering under his breath the following formula: "Cover those eyes as the drawers cover the buttocks!" a suspected evil glance will have no effect.[112] 751

To protect a domestic animal from the consequences of the evil eye, a piece of leather from an old shoe is tied to a ribbon and hung about its neck. Sometimes a strip torn off an old pair of drawers is used instead. Crops are saved from harm by planting sticks in different parts of the field or garden and tying to them a few rags, a torn hat, a broken pot, or the like.[113] A person with the evil eye can injure a cow, even without actually seeing it, if he casts a glance at its milk. Hence the precaution is taken, when a customer comes to buy milk, of not letting him into the cellar or other place where it is kept.[114]

Various methods of misleading the spirit responsible for the disease, or of frightening it away, are believed to be effective. Thus to cure a child of a persistent ailment, for example, its mother is often advised to "sell" it. This she does by giving the child to another woman, who carries it out of the house and then goes to a window and says: "With the child I have greeted the sun, the corners of the house, and all the saints: now I greet the mother and beg her to repurchase the child." The woman then brings the infant into the house, where the drinking ceremony (*mohorycz*) which customarily accompanies a sale, takes place. Sometimes a change in name suffices to bring the child back to health. A witch ordinarily uses the name given at baptism; consequently a child whose name has been changed will not heed her call.[115] To cure a fever, cold water is suddenly poured over the head of the patient while he is asleep; this frightens the fever demon and causes it to run away.[116] Fever may also be shamed into leaving the body. The patient goes into a toilet and sleeps there until his chills pass. The fever, offended, then leaves the body.[117] 755 ●

Exuvial magic is sometimes employed to work cures. A per-

[111] Kaindl, *Die Huzulen*, p. 93.
[112] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 133.
[113] *Ibid.*, p. 134.
[114] Kolberg, *Przemyskie*, p. 233.
[115] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxxvi, 256.
[116] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 173.
[117] *Ibid.*, pp. 173-74.

20: Koenig E-4 (no date) 1937 RD1 Ukraine RD1



755 son suffering from fever, for example, pares the nails of his fingers and toes, and cuts a little hair from the four corners of his head; he then inserts the clippings in the stem of a rotten tree, closes the hole tightly, and runs home as fast as he can, saying: "May you not return until I myself shall come back for you!" [118] Mention might be made here of the belief that hair from one's head should not be thrown on the dung pile, for if a bird should appropriate it in building its nest the person would lose his hair. On the other hand, one can make his hair grow long and thick by throwing a few locks into fire or water.[119]

Human and animal exuviae are also believed to possess valuable curative qualities. Human nails and hair, the bones of meat consecrated on Easter, skin from the head of a dog, the hoof of a horse, and the excrements of domestic animals and fowl all serve as ingredients in the concoctions prepared for different ailments.[120] A cure for a cataract is compounded of the white of an egg, flour, and the dried and pulverized excreta of a child.[121] The excrement of a black cow is one of the ingredients in a remedy for a toothache; pieces of a horse's hoof are used in a fever cure; and the fat of a black cat or a stork forms a necessary element in a concoction to relieve rheumatism.[122] Pain in the eyes is soothed by an application of woman's milk.[123] Warts are removed by wetting them with the foam from a horse's urine. Human urine is considered an emetic and is used as an antidote for alcohol poisoning.[124]

825 754 Among living things, the frog plays the most important role in native medicine. A frog is thought to be endowed with extraordinary powers, which can be used either for good or for evil. A witch, for example, often makes use of a frog, sending it to the house of her enemy to bring affliction upon it. A frog must not be killed; if suspected as the agent of witchcraft, it may only be wrapped up and hung on a beam in the house. A boy who kills a frog may 825 bring death to his father.[125] On the other hand, this amphibian 757 is considered a clean animal. If one is found in a well, for

[118] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, p. 173.
[119] Kolberg, *Przemyskie*, p. 235.
[120] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 164.
[121] *Ibid.*, p. 163.
[122] *Ibid.*, pp. 164, 167, 171.
[123] Kaindl, *Die Huzulen*, p. 94.
[124] *Ibid.*, p. 95.
[125] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 137, 144.

20: Koenig E-4 (no date) 1937 RD1 Ukraine RD1



The hernia(e.g.) is employed especially in healing hæmorrhoids
(*zolotnyk*). According to popular belief, every person, male or 757
female, has a *zolotnyk* which dwells under his navel. If he lifts 753
a heavy burden, the *zolotnyk* descends and causes hæmorrhoids. The sufferer, after he has been cupped and the painful spot has been smeared with butter, is put in a very warm spot in the room, often in the oven itself, so that he may be properly " steamed up." To effect a permanent cure, however, the *zolotnyk* must be driven back to its " natural " seat. This is usually done by a professional healer, who, with the appropriate incantations, massages the patient's stomach with butter, using only an upward motion.[133]

Syphilis is not regarded with a gravity commensurate with its seriousness, but rather as just another of the numerous maladies with which people become afflicted. Every symptom of this venereal infection is looked upon as a distinct disease having its own cause. When its effects become visible on the nose, it is considered to be a wound caused by water, and its appearance on the palate is diagnosed as due to dust. All the symptoms are treated by smoking very strong tobacco, or by applying concoctions and salves compounded of various herbs.[134] As to the origin of this disease, the people tell the following fantastic story :

> A certain emperor was in love with his daughter-in-law. St. John, of course, reproved him, and made him dance with her at the ball. As a punishment, the emperor put St. John into a dungeon. In the morning the daughter-in-law and the executioner entered the dungeon and cut off St. John's head. At that very moment all food and drink turned into blood. The daughter-in-law then put the head of St. John on a plate and, upon arriving in town, hurled it seventy-six times in the air. Whoever was sprinkled with the blood of St. John's head became afflicted with syphilis.[135]

755 •

Epilepsy is definitely ascribed to an evil spirit. When the [753]
*czort* (Devil) gets hold of a person, they say, he throws him on the ground and turns his eyes so that he does not see or hear anything.

[133] *Ibid.*, pp. 162-3. [134] Szuchiewicz, W. *op. cit.*, 57-8.
[135] *Ibid.*, i, p. 45.

20: Koenig E-4 (no date) 1937 RD1 Ukraine RD1



thing. The victim may be cured by drawing blood from under the nail of his little finger, by pouring cold water over him and then rubbing his hands and head, and by bending his little finger and pressing it tightly. Above all, the stricken person must not be called by name. Epilepsy is also treated by strewing the patient with consecrated herbs cooked in holy water, by putting into his hands a candle once held by a dying person, or by fumigating him with smoke engendered by burning the hair left on a comb after it has been used to dress the hair of a corpse in preparation for a burial.[136]

The cure for tuberculosis actually prescribed by one *znachor* is hardly less fantastic: "Insert some dung under the shoe of a horse and let it remain there for nine days; when this period has elapsed, drive the horse out of the stable and let it gallop down the road; then run after it, catch the dung as it is cast off by the horse, and apply it to your limbs."[137]

*Similia similibus curantur* is as important a principle in peasant therapeutics as it is in other magical practices. The following remedies are based on this theory. If one gets a chill from drinking cold water, one must, in order to be cured, continue to drink cold water until one vomits. On the other hand, a person who becomes feverish on taking a bath should have a good quantity of water poured over him after he has fallen asleep. A person suffering from a sty, an eye inflammation which is called "barley" (*jiczmen*) in Ukrainian, throws a few kernels of this grain on the fire and runs away as fast as he can in order not to hear the crackling, which is supposed to betoken his cure.[138] The use of a piece of the mad dog's skin in the cure of rabies, as described above, is another illustration of the same principle.

Closely akin to the above is the sympathetic or imitative method of healing. A sufferer from a toothache, for example, upon being informed that somebody in the village has just died, goes to the house and touches first the dead man's teeth and then his own, or else takes the deceased's hand and with it touches his own teeth, saying: "May my teeth hurt as do those of the de-

[136] Szuchiewicz, W. *op. cit.*, i, p. 322. [137] Kolberg, *Przemyskie*, p. 237.
[138] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 163, 172.

† Ecat. 116 p. 88 -- Analyst?

20: Koenig E-4 (no date) 1937 RD1 Ukraine RD1



755

ceased!" The toothache immediately disappears and never returns again.[139] One of the multitudinous remedies for fever involves a similar principle. At about 9 or 10 o'clock at night the patient goes to the grave of a recently buried person, scoops up therefrom a handful of earth, and runs home with it as fast as he can, so that, before sunrise, he can mix it with water, drink it, and thereby dispel his chills.[140]

SAMUEL KOENIG.